

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 172472

FOR AMB YOUNG FROM UNA

FOL RPT USUN NEW YORK 02807 ACTION SECSTATE INFO BONN LONDON
MOSCOW OTTAWA PARIS 6 JUL 78 QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN NEW YORK 02807

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, SF, WA, UR

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: DISCUSSION WITH SOVIET PERMANENT
REPRESENTATIVE TROYANOVSKY

1. AMBASSADOR MCHENRY MET WITH AMBASSADOR TROYANOVSKY AND
MINISTER LOZINSKY OF THE SOVIET MISSION JULY 6 AT THEIR
REQUEST TO BRIEF THEM ON THE CURRENT STATUS OF WESTERN
FIVE EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA. AFTER
LISTENING TO MCHENRY'S PRESENTATION, TROYANOVSKY ASKED THE
REACTIONS OF THE ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT AND THROUGH SEVERAL
OTHER QUESTIONS CONFIRMED OUR BELIEF THAT THE FRONT LINE
STATES HAVE INDICATED THEIR DESIRE TO PROCEED WITH FINAL
TALKS WITH SWAPO. MCHENRY TOLD TROYANOVSKY THAT, WHILE HE
BELIEVES THAT THE FRONT LINE STATES DESIRE IMPLEMENTATION
OF THE WESTERN PLAN NOW AND WILL RECOMMEND TO SWAPO THEIR
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AGREEMENT TO THE WESTERN PROPOSAL, NEITHER ANGOLA NOR THE
OTHER FRONT LINES WILL PRESS SWAPO BEYOND SWAPO'S OWN DE-
SIRES.

2. TROYANOVSKY, AFTER ASKING WHEN WE EXPECTED TO CALL FOR
SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION ON NAMIBIA, OBSERVED THAT AT SOME
POINT THE WESTERN POWERS WILL BE LOOKING FOR SOVIET CO-

OPERATION OR ACQUIESCENCE. HE SAID, SPEAKING FRANKLY, THE GENERAL ATMOSPHERE IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS AT PRESENT IS NOT VERY GOOD FOR A POSITIVE SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARD THE WESTERN INITIATIVE. HE SAID MANY IN HIS GOVERNMENT IN MOSCOW, AND IN FACT HE HIMSELF, ARE MORE THAN A LITTLE ANGRY AT THE CHARGES AND INNUENDOS THAT HAVE BEEN RAISED BY THE AMERICAN CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE SOVIET AND CUBAN PRESENCE IN AFRICA. AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE HARD FEELINGS THAT HAVE BEEN CREATED BY THESE AMERICAN ATTITUDES, IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW THE SOVIET UNION COULD TAKE A POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE WESTERN EFFORT IN NAMIBIA.

3. WITH REFERENCE TO ETHIOPIA, HE ARGUED THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS NEVER SENT "MILITARY" (PRESUMABLY COMBAT) PEOPLE TO ETHIOPIA. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT MADE EVERY EFFORT TO DISSUADE SOMALI PRESIDENT SIAD BARRE FROM LAUNCHING THE INVASION OF ETHIOPIA, BUT WHEN IT HAPPENED THE SOVIET UNION SAW NO OTHER COURSE TO TAKE BUT TO SUPPORT ETHIOPIA FULLY. HE SAID THE SOVIET UNION FAVORS A POLITICAL SOLUTION IN ERITREA AND CONSIDERS IT AN "INTERNAL" ETHIOPIAN PROBLEM, FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT FROM THE PROBLEM OF EXTERNAL AGGRESSION IN THE OGADEN. HE SAID THEY HAVE SOUGHT TO ADVISE THE ETHIOPIAN REGIME AND OTHERS TO SEEK A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN ERITREA, AND HE ADVISED THE U.S. TO PREVAIL ON SOME OF THE ARABS WHO CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE CONFIDENTIAL

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ERITREAN REBELS' DRIVE FOR INDEPENDENCE.

4. TROYANOVSKY RECALLED HIS FIRST DISCUSSIONS WITH AMBASSADOR YOUNG IN EARLY 1977, WHEN YOUNG HAD URGED THAT THE TWO POWERS NOT PERMIT EAST-WEST RIVALRIES TO INTRUDE INTO AFRICA, WHERE THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE DO NOT ALLOW SUCH COMPETITION. TROYANOVSKY SAID IT DID NOT SEEM TO HIM THAT THE U.S. HAD ADHERED TO THAT IDEA. WE WOULD HAVE TO RETURN TO SUCH OBJECTIVES IF WE EXPECT SOVIET COOPERATION IN SUCH PROBLEMS AS NAMIBIA.

5. IN CONCLUDING THE DISCUSSION, HOWEVER, TROYANOVSKY EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE BRIEFING AND ASKED THAT WE STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH AS THE NAMIBIA EXERCISE PROGRESSES.

6. AMBASSADOR MCHENRY REPLIED THAT AMBASSADOR TROYANOVSKY KNEW THE UNITED STATES BETTER THAN MOST AND HE COULD MAKE HIS OWN INFORMED JUDGMENTS ABOUT RECENT EVENTS. SECRETARY VANCE HAD DISCUSSED NAMIBIA WITH DOBRYNIN. WE EXPECT SOVIET COOPERATION AND SUPPORT. NEITHER U.S., SOVIET NOR AFRICAN INTEREST WOULD BE SERVED BY FAILURE TO RESOLVE THE NAMIBIA QUESTION. WITH REGARD TO ETHIOPIA, WE WERE CON-

CERNED WITH THE SOVIET FAILURE TO THOROUGHLY EXPLORE PEACEFUL AND COOPERATIVE METHODS BEFORE RESORTING TO MILITARY ASSISTANCE. (TROYANOVSKY ASKED, "WHAT ABOUT THE FRENCH.") IT WAS A FACT THAT CONCERN ABOUT SOVIET ACTIONS IN AFRICA MIGHT AFFECT PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF SOVIET ACTION IN AREAS WHERE WE BOTH HAD VITAL INTERESTS AND COULD IGNORE AT OUR PERIL. WHAT WAS NEEDED WAS A WAY OF CONSULTING MORE CLOSELY AND OF STRENGTHENING THE ABILITY OF THE OAU. TROYANOVSKY AGREED ON THE WEAKNESS OF THE OAU BUT SUGGESTED THAT SPLITS WITHIN AFRICA WOULD MAKE STRENGTHENING THE OAU DIFFICULT.

7. COMMENT: TROYANOVSKY WAS RELAXED AND GENIAL IN DECONFIDENTIAL

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LIVERING HIS COMMENTS. THE LACK OF HEAT IN HIS MANNER REINFORCED THE IMPRESSION THAT HE WAS GOING THROUGH MOTIONS FOR THE RECORD. THE PRIME FACT FOR THE RUSSIANS REMAINS AFRICAN SUPPORT FOR OUR INITIATIVE. LEONARD UNQUOTE VANCE

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